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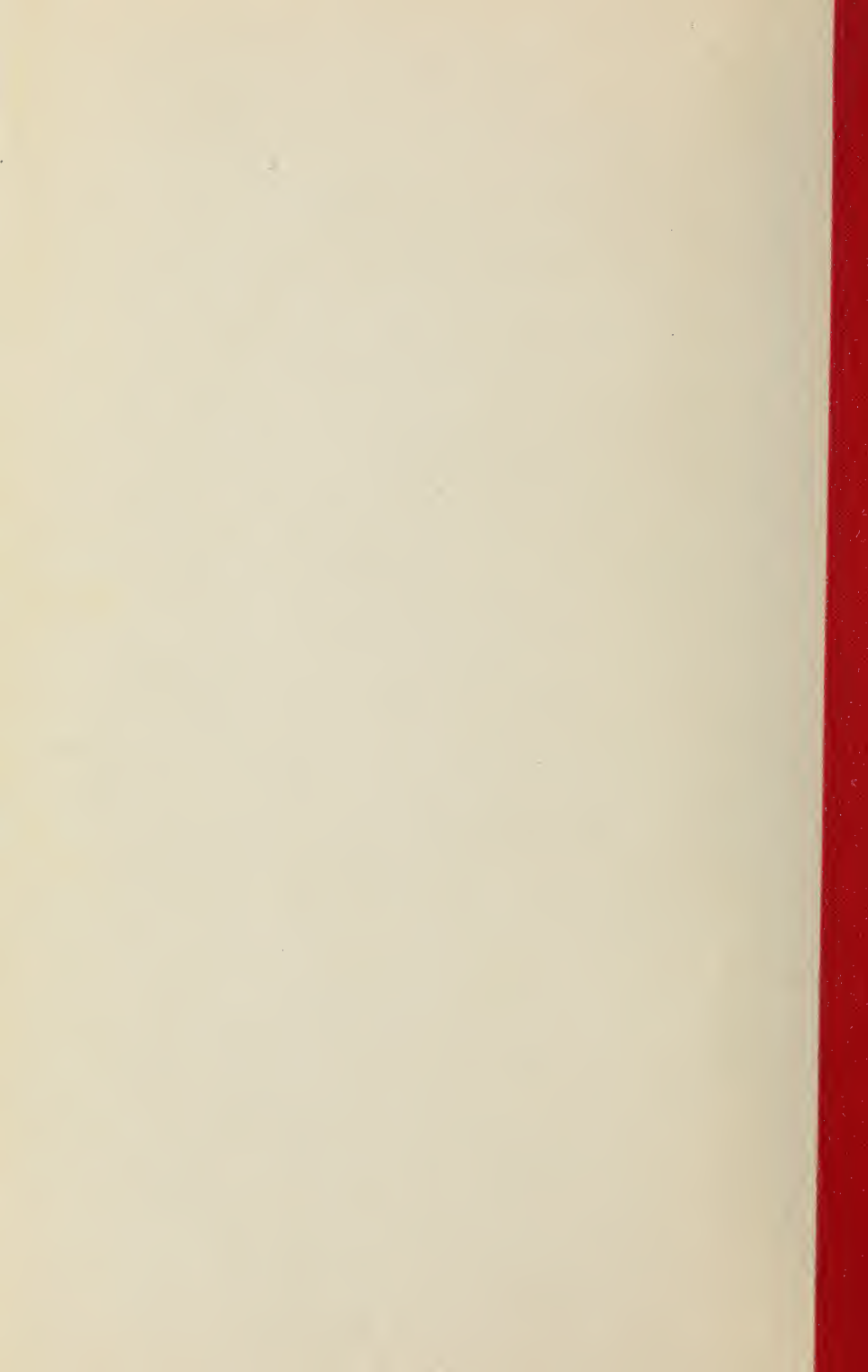
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"Justice seems lame as well as blind amongst us."

Eaton, Norman Bridgman

Hawaiian

"Annexation"

(Japan's Trade Important)

Imperils Trade

Annexation Should be Submitted to the People

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Hawaiian "Annexation"— TRADE and Threats.

That the "scheme" of the Hawaiian annexationists in 1893 was well and carefully conceived by persons possessed of so-called "diplomatic" ability admits of no doubt. But the weak points in its consummation are many and serious, but none are more apparent than the lack of appreciation of the force of great *moral* principles which ought to guide nations as well as individuals. While the active and timely interposition of our flag and naval forces brought success to what is now the Hawaiian oligarchy, those very agencies stand in the pathway of "annexation." To keep the "scheme" afloat until it could be fully consummated, the American people have been surfeited ever since 1893 with Hawaiian specials—some intended for one purpose and some for another but all in supposed aid of "annexation." Some have been appeals to avarice, others to excite alarm, and some to raise a spirit of territorial aggression as against foreign nations supposed and alleged to be covetous.

The annexationists appear to have relied quite as much on the weakness of the American people as upon anything else to keep their "scheme" afloat, and they certainly have pressed the average American citizen hardest in his weakest points. It has been a period of persistent agitation to manufacture, concentrate and consolidate American sentiment and it must be frankly confessed that the country is pretty thoroughly saturated with these efforts. The most surprising thing about the matter is that our people should for a moment consider that there has ever been a day or an hour when there was the slightest danger of any foreign nation seizing or dominating the Hawaiian Islands. Our policy is too well understood to give that idea even a decent footing.

And then too we have had the threat from Hawaii, that the Islands would transfer their trade, unless the United States annexed them.

In view of the \$66,000,000 of sugar duty bounty which the United States has already extended the Hawaiian "Sugar Trust" since 1876, this *threat* to transfer trade simply furnishes evidence of Hawaiian *ingratitude* for favors already extended! It is in perfect accord, however, with the selfish-

ness of "Trusts" generally and of the Hawaiian "Sugar Trust" in particular, but it is an empty one. The Hawaiian sugar planters could not realize upon it. Because of the proximity of the Islands to the United States—compared with other nations, we have always had, have now and would continue to control the Hawaiian trade. *It cannot advantageously go elsewhere!* Nations and people trade where they can do so on the best terms. *Commerce is not sentimental.* Thirty-five years ago—long *before* the free sugar or reciprocity treaty existed, the United States had four-fifths of the trade of the Hawaiian Islands. (House Ex. Doc. 1, part 1, page 135; 53d, 3d.) But while that is true, a glance at our *domestic* trade going *into* the Islands *shows no* material increase in fourteen years! The trade *coming to us* has materially increased, but almost entirely in *sugar* because of the *great advantage* which our "free sugar" treaty of 1875-6 gave the Hawaiian "Sugar Trust"—to the detriment of our treasury receipts and our home sugar industry!

It must be noted that the figures we produce from House Doc. 426, p. 1647, 54th, 1st, are *domestic* exports to Hawaii. Those exports were not as much in 1895 as in 1883. In fact *less* by nearly one million in 1895, compared with 1890, and *less* by over a million and a quarter in 1895, compared with 1891, and not as much as they were in 1892!

1883.....	\$3,683,000
1890.....	4,606,000
1891.....	4,935,000
1892.....	3,662,000
1895.....	3,648,000

Since the so-called "reciprocity" or free sugar agreement was entered into in 1875-6 and down to and including 1890, a period of 15 years,

our total <i>imports from</i> Hawaii were	\$109,800,000
Which shows an <i>annual average</i> of.....	7,320,000
The <i>annual average</i> balance of trade <i>against</i> us for the 15 years has been over.....	4,500,000

"Annexation" means that *for all time* the United States would remit duty on Hawaiian sugar and rice and thus not only lose about \$8,000,000 per annum which would need to be raised from our taxpayers in some other way, but we would be giving *foreign* sugar planters a great advantage over our domestic beet-sugar industry—as the climate and soil in Hawaii are superior and labor cheaper. As our *domestic* exports to Hawaii do not exceed *four* millions a year, we would by annexation wipe out the revenues from Hawaiian sugar,

tantamount to making the Island planters *a present* of our exports and of four millions besides!

The "magnificent" business that has been built up with the Hawaiian Islands, that so affects some of the emotional advocates of annexation, does not appear very attractive upon investigation. The Hawaiians have far more cause to become enthusiastic over the magnificent business that they have built up with the United States, and at our expense! The total amount of purchases by Hawaii from the United States is only \$4,000,000 annually, or the amount of business that is done in San Francisco in two days. Chicago does as much business on any working day *before noon* as the purchases of the Hawaiian Islands from the United States amount to in a whole year. New York does more business in an hour.

The confidence of many that the "business" of this country with Hawaii is capable of practically unlimited extension takes no account of the *conditions*. The *character* and limited population give an indication of their *purchasing capacity*. The population of the eight islands numbers 109,020. Of these, 24,407 are Japanese, 21,616 are Chinese, and 15,191 are Portuguese. These are *laborers* practically, to a man, and have neither the means nor the inclination to purchase goods imported from the United States. Of the remaining 47,806 people, 39,504 are Hawaiians of full or part blood, and the majority of these are in the same financial condition. In a recent report to the State Department William Haywood, United States Consul General at Honolulu, gives some information about the Hawaiian sugar crop, which this year is estimated at 248,566 tons. The reports of labor show that of the 22,000 laborers employed on sugar plantations, 11,394 were Japanese, 6,861 Chinese, 1,902 Portuguese and 1,356 Hawaiians. Mr. Haywood says the Japanese seem to be preferred by the planters, seventeen of whom favor their employment, against six for Chinese, six for Portuguese, four for both Chinese and Japanese, and two for Hawaiians.

Some figures prepared by the Attorney-General of Hawaii and included in Mr. Haywood's report are interesting. In 1890 the Japanese laborers numbered 8,624 out of a total of 18,959 laborers employed on sugar plantations; 13,019 out of a total of 20,536 in 1892; 13,684 out of a total of 21,294 in 1894; 11,584 out of 20,095 in 1895, and 12,893 out of 23,782 in 1896. The Chinese laborers were 4,517 in 1890 and decreased to 2,617 in 1892. They numbered 6,289 in 1896. The Portuguese and Hawaiians varied very little in numbers. These figures are questioned as being *far below* the actual line — for "annexation" purposes.

The Chinese and Japanese live on rice, the Kanakas on poi. This leaves about 8,000 people from among whom the purchasers of *American* goods are to be drawn. The annual trade of Hawaii with this country is about one-third that of Los Angeles or Syracuse, N. Y., and about one-half that of Lowell, Mass., or Tacoma, Seattle, or Spokane, in Washington. The articles exported from this country to Hawaii are only such as they cannot obtain cheaper *elsewhere*. Since the advent of the Canadian line they have imported hay, lumber, grain, potatoes and other merchandise, formerly purchased in this country, from Canada. Most of their other importations *now* come from England, France and Germany, as the import duty is only 10 per cent—not enough to favor importations from this country. Hon. S. M. Damon, Hawaiian Minister of Finance, asserts that out of a total *export* list of \$15,500,000 in 1896 the Hawaiians sent us \$15,000,000 in sugar, *free of duty*, the duty on which, under the Wilson bill even, would have amounted to \$6,000,000. Their whole argument about their vast trade with the United States is, that out of a total import of \$7,000,000 *into* the Islands \$5,250,000 come from the Pacific ports and \$250,000 from the Atlantic ports, a total of \$5,500,000 of imports from the United States, not all of which is *domestic*.

Could they have advanced any weaker argument in advocacy of the maintenance of the reciprocity treaty with the United States when, by their own financial statements, it is thus shown that *the duty remitted* on sugars that they send to us *would exceed* in value *their entire purchases from the United States*?

If we are looking after *trade* why not direct our vision in other directions?

Our *exports* to the British East Indies—sugar producing colonies—in 1892 were..... \$3,675,000
or about equal to those to Hawaii in 1895. Why
not let in sugar “free” from there?

We *exported* to Argentina—a sugar producing nation—in 1892..... 2,643,000
and yet as much as we desire her trade, we duty
her sugar.

We exported in 1892 to the Guianas—sugar colonies—over..... 2,363,000
but we duty sugar from *there*.

And why ignore *independence* for poor suffering Cuba! She lies right at our doors! Our *export* trade alone to Cuba, before her war, was nearly \$20,000,000. Her *independence* would increase our exports to her 50 per cent. Why go 2,100 miles away to Hawaii for four millions of trade which *must* come to the United States in any event?

The fact is that this "annexation" treaty is not based on trade; it's "free" sugar—a scheme to *escape paying us duty* on Hawaiian sugar and rice, both of which are *agricultural products competing* with our own.

The more material *trade* feature in this "annexation" scheme that is of increasing and of more importance to the United States—than our petty export trade to Hawaii, is the maintenance of our trade with Japan! A few ambitious jingoes in the United States, with political, railway, cable, land, naval and other conspirators and a "Sugar Trust" in Hawaii, may be ready to give up our right to \$8,000,000 of revenue a year from Hawaiian sugar and imperil our trade with Japan, in order to secure—what? What would "annexation" give the United States except what she has, aside from responsibility and expense, *beyond present computation?* Between one-third and one-fourth of Japan's total exports come to the United States! Very naturally a friendly feeling has come to be entertained by Japan toward the United States, and her exporters to America are anxious to increase the imports from that country in return for articles bought from us. Largely through the efforts of these men the imports of such products as iron, locomotives, timber, *flour*, kerosene oil and *cotton* have largely increased and would continue to increase even faster in the future if our relations remain friendly. The imports of *cotton* alone directly from the United States promise soon *to equal the value of silk exports to the United States from Japan*. In the same spirit a Japanese line of steamers runs to Seattle. Another, with steamers now building, will run to San Francisco. These lines have not only the object of encouraging exports from Japan, but exports from the United States to Japan.

The items of our *exports* to Japan show that the Western and Southern people are liable *to make a great mistake* in too hastily changing trade with Japan for that of Hawaiian "free" sugar. Japan is a country of large and *increasing* population and importance. Ought we to even *risk* her trade for the very much *smaller* trade with Islands which can never contain much population, and hence can never have much trade? It may be as well for those who are *forcing* this "annexation" scheme for pretended *trade* purposes, to examine this matter a little more closely. The Japanese are a very *sensitive* people!

It is asserted that for the very strong reasons embraced in a protest filed with the United States, Japan has certain rights which we are bound to respect. Her claim is said to rest on this, that—

"The acquisition of Hawaii by annexation to the United

"States would deprive the resident Japanese on the Islands of rights to which they are at present entitled under the present treaty with Hawaii. At present there are 25,000 Japanese on the Islands, with large property rights, and under the present conditions they are entitled to become citizens of Hawaii. In case of annexation these Japanese could not become citizens of the United States, as the decisions of the United States circuit courts are to the effect that no Asiatic can become a citizen of the United States. By annexation the Japanese now resident in Hawaii would be subject to any measures that may be adopted by the United States. They would lose the right to become citizens and to vote, and the large interests owned by Japanese citizens in the Islands would be greatly jeopardized; therefore the Japanese government must firmly protest against the proposed annexation."

If this is the situation, we can readily see why Japan seeks to *protect her people*. She would not be respected if she did not. But it is said, all this will be cared for by our Congress—*after annexation!* It had better be cared for *now!* Our trade with Japan is quite important in character and far more extensive than our trade with Hawaii. We should not run the *least risk* of imperiling it. The Japanese minister to the United States, Toru Hoshi, in "New Japan," says—"No citizen of this country should be ignorant of the fact that among the people of Japan there is a genuine and *deeply rooted attachment to the United States.*"

Recent statistics show that there has been a great increase in our exports to Japan, which have risen from \$3,288,282 in 1892, a year of large general exports, to **\$13,233,970** for the fiscal year just closed. The increase over the fiscal year 1896 amounts to about \$5,500,000.

The following table exhibits the growth of our exports to Japan of the articles mentioned:

	1892.	1894.	1897.
Wheat flour.....	\$179,246	\$211,579	\$819,620
Cotton.....	132,729	360,492	2,345,016
Cotton cloths.....	10,330	42,764	141,264
Machinery	50,322	26,104	909,031
Manufactures, iron and steel	147,110	192,607	2,568,752
Leather.....	139,384	115,028	213,853
Oils, mineral, refined.....	1,812,414	2,226,247	4,222,383
Paraffine.....	976	73,315	171,476
Tobacco.....	160,571	170,904	407,557
Wood and manufactures of..	42,912	31,339	218,714

In other items, also, there has been a substantial increase.

During the year just ended the value of Japanese goods brought into the United States was \$24,009,756. Compared with last year, this is a decrease of about \$1,500,000. Of the 113,343,175 pounds of tea imported by the United States during the fiscal year 1897, Japan supplied 45,465,161 pounds, and China 56,483,924 pounds.

The import of chief value—raw silk—was last year valued at \$10,010,835. *Raw* silk is free of duty. Manufactured silk, which is dutiable, was valued at \$2,758,962. The total value of free goods imported during the year was \$18,808,609, and of dutiable goods \$5,201,147. These figures are a fair representative of recent years. In connection with the importation of Japanese teas it is noted that the prices have in fifteen years decreased fully one-half.

So that we sent to Japan in 1897 *four times as much of domestic exports* as we sent to Hawaii! And the *character* of our exports—cotton and flour and machinery—make that trade *very important to our farmers*, and equally important to skilled labor. Senators from Minnesota, Pennsylvania and from Alabama should give Japanese trade some consideration, and not waste too much *sentiment* on the Hawaiian "Sugar Trust"!

In November last the Chicago *Tribune* said—

"About 30,000 bales of cotton are booked for shipment to Japan this winter from the single port of Seattle. This is said to be 50 per cent *more* in value than the value of all American exports to Japan during the season of 1894-95."

And then, too, if *trade* is one real object of Hawaiian annexation, what about our important trade with Cuba? As a leading Ohio journal well says, if *trade* is to be a governing consideration—"Cuba is at our doors, Hawaii a long way off. It is less than 100 miles from Key West to the capital of Cuba; from San Francisco to Honolulu is 2,100 miles. Our trade with Cuba last year, notwithstanding the great falling off on account of the war, was \$47,548,610; with Hawaii it was \$15,729,050, or not quite one-third as much as with Cuba. In both cases the exports from the United States fell far below the imports into the United States, being about one-third in the case of Hawaii and one-fourth in that of Cuba. Practically all the *exports* of Hawaii are to the United States, and nearly all the imports are from this country. Cuba sends us from two-thirds to three-fourths of its exports and gets only about one-third of its imports from the United States. The gain to our producers and manufacturers would be far greater by the *independence* of Cuba than by the taking in of Hawaii."

There is another feature in this "annexation" treaty that

must be given serious attention. Article 3 provides that—"the existing treaties of the Hawaiian Islands with foreign nations shall *forthwith cease* and determine," etc.

It is conceded that Hawaii has an important treaty with Japan, and perhaps treaties with other nations, and that Japan has become exceedingly sensitive over the effect of the clause in the "annexation" treaty. As long ago as in 1818 Secretary Adams claimed that an alliance between two nations cannot absolve either of them from the obligations of previous treaties *with third powers*. (See Wharton's Digest, Sec. 5.)

He even claimed that in case of conquest the conqueror receives the territory, subject to all its engagements and duties toward others, the fulfillment of which then becomes his own duty. That, however frequent the departure from this *principle* may be in point of fact, it could not—with any color of reason, be contested on the ground of *right*. (Ib., id.)

And why should a nation have the right to throw off its obligations by annexation?

This matter should not be left to possible future adjustment. If Mr. Adams' proposition is sound, our relations with Japan make it important that there should be some understanding *before* this annexation "scheme" is consummated, and the sugar planters in the Islands are also fairly entitled to know what their labor is to be. Hawaiian "diplomacy" *is not at a premium*, and the United States cannot afford to be used as a tool to accomplish something which may become very expensive to her. Any friction with Japan will mean serious loss of trade, and that should not result, nor be risked at a time when the nations of the whole world are engaged in a great struggle for commercial supremacy or increased trade.

We have had persistent effort for months to induce the American people to assume that Japan has designs on the Islands. That talk is fully exploded, not only in the diplomatic correspondence with Secretary Sherman, but by Mr. Theo. L. Noyes in a letter from Tokio to the *Washington Star* of July 6, 1897, wherein Count Okuma, the Japanese Secretary of State, said—

"The Japanese government and the Japanese people have no idea of menacing the *independence* of Hawaii. Nothing could be farther from their wishes and purposes. They will be quite content if their treaty rights are observed and respected."

The Count proceeded to outline what he thought our own policy should be and gave excellent reasons. He said—

"As Hawaii lies between the United States and Japan, somewhat nearer to the United States, some people on the islands have already sought annexation by the United States. But that republic should be satisfied with upholding *the independence* of Hawaii. Both the United States and Japan have an interest in maintaining the status quo. This arrangement is most beneficial *for all concerned*. I cannot understand that the United States should desire to annex Hawaii. Politically it would be a mistake, and strategically the great strength of the United States lies in her solidarity."

And Mr. Noyes—who is an "annexationist," was compelled to admit that—"Japan has no such interest in the Islands that her present government would for a moment contemplate a war over their control."

More recently Toru Hoshi, the Japanese Minister to the United States, has said—"That the American people should regard Japan as an aggressor, lustful of aggrandizement, eager to quarrel, and ready, if need be, for war, will seem to them incomprehensible. And that this clamor should have arisen because their government, in pursuance of clear and legitimate duty, has chosen to present, in a respectful, calm, and moderate way, certain reasons why a certain thing should not be done, will add to the mystery."

Miyagawa, the Japanese Consul in New York, laughs at the idea of Japan wanting Hawaii. He says—

"We don't want Hawaii. We wouldn't have Hawaii. We got Formosa from China, and that is costing us more than it is worth. Hawaii would not be worth the money *it would cost to keep it going*. We don't want to add such a lot of *lepers* and worthless people to our population. The United States may want them, but Japan doesn't."

Knowing this, the crafty sugar crowd in Honolulu, who, in the garb of "peaceable" citizens, met in January, 1893, to overthrow the lawful government, more recently attempted to bring on some sort of a row with Japan, in order to alarm our people and thus hasten "annexation." By violating their *treaty* obligations with Japan this sugar-planting oligarchy thought it had laid the groundwork for serious Japanese interference and it hoped to use that condition to get up a "war feeling" and *thus* consolidate American sentiment to *expedite the work* in Washington! There is no doubt whatever that the Hawaiian immigration trouble with Japan was brought on *intentionally* by the oligarchy, as a device to *force* "annexation." What are the facts?

Twenty-eight years ago the first batch of Japanese immi-

grants went to Hawaii. About eleven years ago immigration was resumed under a treaty with Hawaii, signed *at the request* of the Hawaiian government, which was then anxious to replace Chinese by Japanese as "contract" laborers on the Islands. Since that time large numbers of Japanese have gone to Hawaii, until now there are about 25,000 of them there, peaceable, law-abiding people, well-liked by the owners of land and planters who employ them. But for some reason several members of the present Hawaiian cabinet represent that the large and increasing number of Japanese is detrimental to the country, and they want us to believe that they threaten its independence. They have no such fear of an increase in the number of Chinese, whom they previously disliked!

Why did these Hawaiian conspirators suddenly obstruct the immigration of Japanese into Hawaii which they had previously *invited*? Three shiploads were stopped, and not only the people on these ships, but others on their way to Hawaii suffered damage. This act was in violation of treaty. Previously to that event the Hawaiian assembly adopted a measure imposing a heavy duty upon Japanese sake, an unmistakable and objectionable discrimination. There is no doubt whatever that all this was done to invite and *provoke trouble*.

The Marquis Ito, Japan's foremost statesman, says—"The Emperor, I know, will not support any bellicose policy. All my friends in the Ministry or in the control of the different branches of the government are of the same mind as the Emperor upon this subject. And Japanese public sentiment is one of strong friendship for the United States."

Minister Hoshi says—"I have the honor to repeat that Japan has absolutely *no designs of any kind* whatever inimical to Hawaii, and no motive in her dealings with that country except to secure by legitimate means the due observance of just obligations."

This declaration leaves the jingoes without even a pretext for their plot to annex Hawaii on the score of Japanese interference.

In fact Japan's offer to arbitrate forced the crafty Hawaiian oligarchy to accept, and then—as if still intent upon bringing about trouble, the oligarchy commenced to shift or change the issue concerning the reasons assigned for refusing to allow the immigrants to land.

The Japanese government at first declined to discuss the question, whether the possession by each free immigrant of \$50 was bona fide or not. "The imperial government maintains that in the present case possession was *prima facie*

“evidence of ownership. The Hawaiian government has “frankly and unequivocally admitted that each of the rejected free immigrants was actually in possession of \$50, “and has moreover declared that under the Hawaiian law “‘possession’ is synonymous with ‘ownership.’ Consequently “the imperial government deny that it was at any time incumbent on the immigrants to prove that the possession in “question was bona fide.” But Japan has finally considered to throw all questions into arbitration.

It seems to be also proposed to foist the Nicaragua canal subsidy bond scheme upon this government to—in part, enable the United States to *protect Hawaii!* Ex-Senator Warner Miller has discovered how the Hawaiian “job” can be made to fit into the Nicaragua scheme. His idea is that with Hawaii a part of the United States, the Nicaragua canal becomes more than ever before as much of a *national need* as war ships and coast defenses. His suggestion is that having the canal we should be able to dispatch a naval force quickly from the Atlantic to the Pacific to *defend Hawaii.* But what if the Islands are not annexed? Can we then do without the canal? Certainly if annexation would make the construction of the canal, at a cost of perhaps \$150,000,000, a necessity, that is a pretty substantial reason for *not* taking the Islands.

The Hon. James Bryce, the author of a very able treatise on our government and an exceptionally able, fair and vigorous writer, in the December number of the Forum discusses our policy of “annexation” from the naval standpoint and points out its weakness. He says—

“The argument most frequently used in the United States, “to recommend the annexation of Cuba and Hawaii, is that “their annexation would strengthen the strategic position of “America, by giving her two points of naval vantage—one “commanding the Caribbean Sea, and the other the Eastern “Pacific; thus protecting her southern and western coasts.

“Now let it be noticed *how exceptionally strong is the position “which America already holds.* Of the great Powers of the “world, she and Russia are the only ones that have no insular “territories to defend. All the territory of the United States “is territory on her own continent; and all of it, except “Alaska, is continuous land territory. Accordingly, America “and Russia are the only countries no part of whose territory “can be cut off from them by a naval enemy. They are also “countries of such enormous size and such advantages for “defense that no one thinks of invading their interior. Since “Napoleon’s failure in 1812, it is admitted that an attempt “to penetrate the interior of Russia would fail; and an at-

“tempt to invade the United States would have even less chance of success.

“Every other great European Power has territories which lie at the mercy of a stronger hostile fleet. Britain has to defend not only Ireland, but her vast colonial and Indian dominions. France has colonies which are practically hostages to England or to any other naval Power that might be able to drive France off the seas. They are not very important hostages; but, so far as they go, hostages they are. Similarly, the even less valuable colonial possessions of Germany are hostages both to France and to England; as both these countries have fleets stronger than the German; and although the capture of these outlying territories would not affect the issue of a European struggle, still the loss would be felt by any of these Powers as, in some measure, a humiliation, and would become an element to be considered in settling the terms of a peace.

“Just in the same way, Cuba and Hawaii, in the hands of the United States, would be liable, at the outbreak of a war, to be seized by the fleet of any enemy stronger at sea; and the only way to prevent this would be for the United States to maintain a fleet in the Pacific and another in the Gulf of Mexico powerful enough to defend both islands. Now, of course, the United States can, if she likes, *build and maintain a navy* adequate for this purpose. But is it worth her while to do so? Why should she spend the *hundreds of millions* of dollars that would be needed? Of all the great Powers of the world, she is the one least likely to be attacked; not only because she has few occasions for quarreling with other States, but also because no other State *has anything to win by fighting her*. There is not a power in the world which would not lose more than it could possibly gain by a war with America; so that the only circumstance that can be imagined as likely to induce a war is great exasperation of feeling arising from overbearing conduct, or injurious language proceeding from one or other party to the dispute. The conclusion follows that, unless the United States desired to undertake some war of aggression—also an improbable hypothesis—she has no occasion for a navy equal in numbers and armament to the navies of the greatest European Powers. In other words, a great navy would be to her a luxury, *and a very costly luxury*. We in England are unluckily obliged to have a formidable navy, because we are confronted by formidable and not always friendly rivals, and have an immense trade and wide colonial dominions to protect. *We deplore the gigantic*

“*sums that we are annually obliged to devote to our fleet*—sums
 “all the larger because fashion in naval matters changes so
 “fast that a ship which has cost some millions of dollars may
 “in a few years be pronounced obsolete. It is, however,
 “supposed—whether rightly or wrongly I need not inquire—
 “that Britain cannot help herself, and must go on increasing
 “her annual naval vote.

“I am aware that some of my valued friends in the United
 “States, such as Captain Mahan and Mr. Theodore Roose-
 “velt, do not agree with the view I am stating. Neverthe-
 “less, I must again express my belief that the United States
 “is under no such necessity as either England or her
 “European neighbors to create a great and costly navy. A
 “few vessels, sufficient to protect the rights of American
 “citizens in the territories of semi-civilized States, seem suf-
 “ficient for any needs that are likely to arise; seeing that
 “the real strength of the country is to be found in *its territorial*
 “*invulnerability* and in the fact that no other country can hope
 “to gain anything from strife with it. With these advantages,
 “and with her immense population and wealth, America is
 “powerful enough to be able to dispense in the future, as she
 “has successfully dispensed in the past, with those armaments
 “*the maintenance of which presses with such terrible weight* on
 “England and France, on Germany and Italy.

“If there be any force in these considerations, it follows
 “*that the annexation of either Cuba or Hawaii would be a source*
 “*not of strength, but of weakness.* It may be proper for
 “America to see that neither island falls into the hands of
 “any possible naval enemy. Neither, however, is threatened
 “with any such danger; and the expression of the feelings of
 “the United States would be sufficient at any time to avert
 “it, just as a dispatch of Mr. Seward’s led Louis Napoleon to
 “withdraw his troops from Mexico.”

We are taxed enough already without taking Hawaii and
 her debt, behind which lie enormous expenditure for battle-
 ships, forts and an increase of the army, subsidy cable, Oregon
 railway and a bond subsidy Nicaragua scheme. Ex-Secretary
 of the Navy Herbert admits that if—“we annex Hawaii we must
 “add largely to our Pacific fleet; that we cannot otherwise de-
 “fend this outpost, 2,100 miles from our present boundaries.”
 We have in Pacific waters the Asiatic fleet, with six cruisers
 and gunboats, and the Pacific fleet, with one battleship, two
 monitors and four cruisers and gunboats, forming together an
 ample fleet under existing conditions. The annexation of
 Hawaii would necessitate keeping in Pacific waters *double*
 the number of war vessels now there and the Government

would have to proceed at once with the construction of these additional ships, unless it unwisely *weakened* the *Atlantic* fleet to supply them. The construction of these vessels would require an expenditure of perhaps \$20,000,000, besides the annual cost of maintenance, cost of forts and fortifications in the Islands, a cable line and a navy yard, with troops. All these expenditures would be paid by the American people, *not by the people of Hawaii*. Most of the latter are poor and no more revenue could be got from them than would be required to carry on the government in the Islands. Indeed, it is highly probable that even for this purpose the people of the United States would have to contribute.

The Senator from Alabama is reported as admitting that if Great Britain had a Panama Canal, our possession of Hawaii *for defense* would avail nothing. He says—"Billions of dollars spent in coast fortifications, the erection of a tremendous naval station in the Hawaiian Islands and the construction of an extensive fleet would not neutralize the vast advantage which Great Britain would possess in the undisputed control of the Panama Canal. With time and power to erect defenses at each end of that canal, Great Britain would be then in truth the mistress of the seas."

It would seem from this as if we were about to saddle an enormous expenditure on our people for Hawaii, when it has no sort of compensating advantage, and especially if Great Britain builds an Isthmian canal.

And what is the fact concerning so-called "American" investment in the Hawaiian Islands.

Sugar corporations (40), total capital stock.....	\$28,274,000
Sugar companies, not incorporated (22), estimated value.....	3,000,000

\$31,274,000

In the 22 companies *not* incorporated, over one-third of their value is owned by the British, one-sixth by Hawaiians, one-sixth by Germans, over one-tenth by Norwegians, less than one-eighth by Americans.

Of the 40 corporations, 67 per cent of the total capital stock is reported owned by "Americans," but nearly half of this 67 per cent, to wit, 32 per cent, is found in *one* San Francisco corporation; nearly 10 per cent of the total capital stock is found in one *other* San Francisco corporation, showing 42 per cent of the 67 total ("American") per cent in *two* San Francisco corporations! In fact we find that 4 of the 40 are San Francisco corporations, the 4 having \$13,500,-

ooo or 74 per cent of the total \$18,594,695 so-called "American" stock! (See House Ex. Doc. 1, Part 1, pp. 1081-2, 53d, 3d.)

This explains the activity of a few rich men in San Francisco in this matter! But while these comparatively few persons there and some in Honolulu may be able to bring the "Board of Trade" of San Francisco to the support of this treaty, neither that city nor the *State* of California favors it. Quite the reverse. The future of California and therefore of San Francisco consists largely in advancing the domestic beet-sugar industry of that State which this treaty antagonizes. The same can be said—in a lesser degree, of the future of Oregon and of Washington whose Senators may or may not listen to the Oregon R. & T. Co.—understand the real feeling of the people of those States. They will learn later—perhaps too late, that they represent States in which the domestic sugar industry promises to become a great industrial factor, with more developing power and greater force among the people than is possessed by a *foreign* "sugar trust" and a railway company.

It is a great mistake to assume that the second sober thought of the American people favors this "scheme." Certain States, in a formal manner, may have somewhat equivocally adopted an "annexation" resolution but if left to popular vote and *thorough explanation* the American people *would reject it*. Nebraska for instance in her Republican State Convention in August, 1897, said—

"The Hawaiian Islands should be *controlled* by the United States, and no foreign power should be permitted to interfere with them." Just what the intention of that word "controlled" was, every one must discover for himself. As the Irishman said, "it's a trifle evasive."

The following dispatch indicates that our *new* policy is exciting more or less comment in several circles that have trade interests in the Pacific and a very considerable population in and trade with Hawaii. A dispatch says—

"The Australian press is hysterical over the announcement of German correspondents that the United States are after the Samoan Islands. The contention in Australia is that the annexation of the Hawaiian Islands by the United States is preliminary to an attempt to secure the Samoan group." And if the United States annex Hawaii in the North Pacific, why not Samoa in the South Pacific?

It might be as well, perhaps, to discover how far this "annexation" microbe has spread before Congress embarks on this perilous "annexation" policy.

For many weary months the people of the United States have been treated every morning and nearly every evening to *something new* from Honolulu about Hawaii!

The writers have been fertile in resource and they have undoubtedly done a good deal of "missionary" work among those of us who may allow foreigners to do our thinking. The "boom" on annexation is sinking below the horizon and *patronage won't save it*. The latest idea comes from Mr. Hatch, who—in the language of the street, springs the "coffee-raising racket" on us, which is only another appeal to the supposed cupidity of the average American. Perhaps Mr. Hatch has failed to read McFarland Boyd's exposé of that "industry" in Hawaii!

But we are regaled with still other tactics. The latest idea is to place the Princess Kaiulani and her friends in the attitude of conspiring against the late queen; to *divide* the so-called royalist party and then claim that the Hawaiians are not agreed among themselves and that many favor the Dole oligarchy—and inferentially annexation. Well, the gold wrung from our taxpayers under the so-called "reciprocity" treaty can do a great deal of this sort of work, but it is *not* true that it can buy the patriotism of the native people of the Hawaiian Islands. We neither know nor care whether the people of Hawaii want the oligarchy, the queen or the princess. That is a matter which *the people* there must determine *for themselves*.

And then we hear it said that unless the United States accept this offered cession of the Islands, the oligarchy will cede them *to some one else*!

It was only last August that a "Sugar Trust" agent from Honolulu, on arriving in San Francisco, said—

"If annexation is defeated Hawaii will put her foot down. She will then be ready to negotiate with Japan, England or any other country."

This was little short of impudence! Pray *who* gave the Hawaiian *oligarchy* any power whatever *to do anything*—much less cede the Islands? No fact is better understood than that the United States *would not allow* the oligarchy or any one else to cede the Islands *to anybody* nor allow *any* Power to take possession. The sooner the conspirators in the Hawaiian Islands understand that fact, the better. It will save them the labor of continuing to float that sort of nonsense. Real diplomacy is an art; impudent *threats* should be rebuked.

HAWAIIAN "ANNEXATION"—LET HER PEOPLE DECIDE.

A very serious objection to the "annexation" of the Hawaiian Islands, is that there is not only no evidence that *the people* consent to it, but evidence on file that a majority are *against* it. If there is any *one* thing in which the American people have always taken pride—and in which they have had an advantage over other nations, it is found in their insistence on that great principle that all just power is derived from *the consent of the governed*—that there should be no taxation without representation, nor any acceptance of territory—inhabited by intelligent people with a government, without *the consent of the people*, unless, of course by conquest.

Our action toward the Republic of Brazil in 1889 was contained in instructions to our Minister to recognize the new government—"as soon as *a majority of the people* should have *signified their assent* to its establishment and maintenance."

In the case of Chile, our Minister was instructed in 1891 to recognize the new government, "*if it was accepted by the people*," and in the case of Venezuela, in 1892, we conditioned our recognition of the new government on the fact that "it must be *fully established*, in possession of the power "*of the nation and accepted by the people*."

As our own government was based upon the consent of the people, it has been the one marked feature in our policy. *It is fundamental with us*. It lies at the base of our institutions, and we may not honorably nor *safely* disregard it in our dealings involving the peaceful "annexation" of territory, especially *where the people protest* and where the sway of those who would cede, is in issue as to their power and moral right:

Are we proceeding with a recognition of these things in this Hawaiian business? Quite the reverse! It is nowhere proposed by the oligarchy in Hawaii to submit the question of "annexation" to the 13,000 people of the Islands fairly entitled to *vote* without the application of conditions or a *test oath*!

In the case of the proposed annexation of Santo Domingo to the United States, there was a clause providing for the *consent of the people*! (Appendix Cong. Globe, 42d, 1st, p. 43.) And a vote was taken. (See Hough's Constitutions, vol. 2, p. 532, note.)

In the case of the contest between Chile and Peru, the former recognized General Iglesias as President of Peru, but President Arthur in 1883 said—

"When the will of the Peruvian *people* shall be manifested,

"I shall not hesitate to recognize the government approved *by them.*" (Wharton's Digest, p. 550, sec. 70.)

And Secretary Frelinghuysen expressly said in 1884 that the State Department would—"not recognize a revolutionary government *claiming* to represent the people in a South American State, *until* it is established by a *free expression of the will of the people.*" (Ib., id.)

There never was a proposition on the part of the United States to accept a cession of the Hawaiian Islands without *the consent of the people.* When, in 1854, a cession was contemplated, Secretary Marcy said—

"I understand that the measure proposed by *the people*, and "that in which the present rulers are disposed to concur, is "annexation," as distinguished from protection."

(See House Ex. Doc. 1, Part 1, p. 122, 53d Cong., 3d.)

Mr. Seward, in 1867—in referring to Hawaiian reciprocity and "annexation," refers to the supposed wish of *the people.* (See same Doc., p. 143.)

And ex-President Johnson, in alluding to the same subject in 1868, was evidently looking for *the voice of the people* in Hawaii; their voluntary application, and not the desire of a mere oligarchy. (See same Doc., p. 146.)

In July, 1866, Secretary Seward proposed to purchase of Denmark the Islands of Santa Cruz, St. Thomas and St. Johns. In May, 1867, Denmark replied—among other things, that she would not cede them *without the consent of the inhabitants*, and Mr. Seward was finally forced to accede to this *and the people voted* in favor of the proposed cession. But even that treaty failed. (Wharton, vol. 1, pp. 416-417.)

Secretary Seward recognized *the consent of the people* as the basis of our action, when in November, 1862, he said—

"A revolutionary government is not to be recognized until "it is established by *the great body of the population* of the State "it claims to govern." (Wharton, vol. 1, p. 542.)

In General Grant's second message (1870), referring to the revolution in France, he said—"As soon as I learned that a "republic had been proclaimed at Paris, *and that the people* "of France *had* acquiesced in the change, the Minister of the "United States was directed," &c. (Wharton, Vol. 1, p. 544.)

In his first message President Hayes, in 1877, said—"It "has been the custom of the United States when revolution- "ary changes have occurred in Mexico to recognize the *de facto* government as soon as it shall appear to have the approval "of the Mexican people." (1 Wharton, p. 546.)

The Hawaiian oligarchy did not have and has not now the consent of the people. By what right, therefore, has Secretary Sherman or any one else to call Hawaii a "republic"? It is a misnomer and *it deceives*.

Mr. Thurman frankly conceded in the debate on the San Domingo resolutions, Dec. 21, 1870 (Cong. Globe, p. 263, 41st, 3d)—that "It is against the spirit of this age "for a government to annex *any* people *without their consent*." That even Napoleon, despot as he has been called, did not annex Savoy and Nice to France until *the people* of Savoy and Nice voted in favor of annexation.

And Senator Edmunds, p. 263, said—"We ought not to "annex the people of Dominica *without their consent*," and he even agreed with the Senator from Ohio that we ought not to annex them *with* their consent.

That idea accounted for the *second* proposition in Senator Morton's Dominica resolutions (Cong. Globe, p. 53, 41st, 3d), as follows—

"2. The *desire* and disposition of *the people* of the said republic to become annexed to the United States."

In fact there was not only a provision in the San Domingo treaty to leave "annexation" to *the people*, but in March, 1870, they voted 1,006 for to 9 against annexation, and yet the Senate rejected the scheme!

The *people* of Texas voted for admission, as it was practically provided that they should in the joint resolution of our Congress of March, 1845, submitting *conditions* to the people of Texas. The second proposition in Senator Benton's Texas bill of December 11, 1844, was—

"2. *The people* of Texas by a legislative act or by any "authentic act which shows *the will of the majority* to express "their *assent* to annexation."

This policy of awaiting and acting on the will of the people—the majority, could not be otherwise under our system of government. Upon what sort of pretense can the United States proceed to "annex" a people *without their consent* who are *as well qualified* to exercise the elective franchise *as our own laboring classes*! (See House Ex. Doc. 1, Part 1, p. 741, 53d Cong., 3d.) A people who, ever since 1864, and down to 1893, had their own constitution voluntarily conceded to them by their chosen rulers, who had their own government, and it was a liberal and a wise one. Why should a very small per cent of the foreign voters; denizens from other countries—and they voters by special dispensation only, without throwing off their allegiance to the United States, attempt to control the 109,000? The idea is so incon-

sistent with republican tenets that "annexation" without the consent of the people would forever render our pretenses *odious in the eyes of the civilized world!* The Islands have a native population of 39,500, who for many years had their own government and institutions, and there is a foreign population of 70,000 all told, including 3,086 Americans only, 3,682 British and Germans, all others being Chinese, Japanese and Portuguese principally. The Americans do not cast over 500 to 600 votes; not half as many as are usually cast for a town clerk!

Does any man doubt what the vote of the thirteen American colonies would have been in 1776? Does any man doubt what the vote would be in poor, struggling Cuba? Does any person doubt what the voice of the people of Texas was on the question of its admission? *Why should not the voice of the Hawaiian people be taken in the case of Hawaii?* And especially when the transfer means the spoliation of the crown and government lands of a people who are fairly educated and who have always been accorded their *independence?* There are many things abhorrent to the mind of honest and honorable people embraced in this *scheme of political* manipulators to annex the Hawaiian Islands, whether *the people* there *wish it or not!* Selfishness, cupidity, dishonor, duplicity and well nigh every conceivable violation of the rules of equity and political morality are involved in this proposition! The people of the Islands—fairly entitled to speak, should be allowed a *free and fair* vote on "annexation" *before* this scheme is consummated!

The Commissioner sent there by the United States to investigate and report the facts, in a letter to our Secretary of State, dated May 24, 1893, said—

"I have put this question to several leading annexationists, * * * 'If the question of annexation were submitted to the people of these Islands *who were qualified to vote* for representatives under the constitution of 1887, under the Australian ballot system, which has been adopted by your legislature, *what would be the result?*'

Answer—"They have almost without exception, declared that annexation *would certainly be defeated!* * * * There is not an annexationist in the Islands, so far as I have been able to observe, *who would be willing to submit the question of annexation to the popular vote!* They have men at work in all the Islands *urging the natives to sign petitions for annexation!* They seek to impress them with the opinion that IF ANNEXED, they will be allowed the right to vote! * * * If the question of annexation by the United States should be

“made to depend *upon the popular will* in these Islands, the “idea may as well be abandoned.” (See House Ex. Doc. “1, Part 1, p. 533, 53d Cong., 3d Session.)

The reason for disfranchising the people by a *test* oath, etc., was again answered in the following question and reply—

Question—If the question of annexation were left *to the people* of the Islands by a ballot under the Australian system, with the qualification of reading and writing, what—in your opinion, would be the result?

Answer—There would be an overwhelming majority *against* annexation! (See same Doc., p. 741.)

Question—Suppose the matter of sustaining the Provisional Government (*i. e.*, the oligarchy) in its policy and purposes, was submitted to a popular vote in the Islands, with the qualification of a person entitled to vote for a representative, what would be the result?

Answer—I think they would be swamped! (p. 943).

Question—By how much?

Answer—I should say four-fifths. (See also same Doc., p. 977.)

Colonel MacFarlane was chamberlain to the late King. He is now a resident of San Francisco, and was in the closest touch with Hawaiian affairs, enjoying alike the friendship and confidence of the officials of the Hawaiian republic and of the ex-Queen and Princess Kaiulani. He says—

“Of course, I assume the United States would not annex “Hawaii without the consent of the government. That is, a “majority vote of the inhabitants of Hawaii must be obtained for a ratification of the annexation treaty.

“While I do not deny or affirm that the Hawaiians will “not vote for annexation under condition, I have no hesitation in saying that a plebiscite on the existing treaty admitting Hawaii merely *as a territory* would not yield five “affirmative votes in a hundred.

“The statement of some American papers that the pure “Hawaiians favor either the present regime or annexation, is “misleading and untruthful.”

The situation in the Hawaiian Islands now, and ever since the agents of the oligarchy used our flag and marines to seize the government, was well expressed last July in an interview by J. R. Kinney, an old resident of Hawaii, and an uncle of the present Hawaiian Commissioner to this country. He said—

“The tail cannot wag the dog in Hawaii *much longer*, and

"no one knows this any better than the members of the present government in the Islands, which forms the *tail* end of the population. It is not possible *that ten per cent* of the population *should rule the other ninety*. The trouble that threatens Hawaii is *internal*, and hence the haste of the so-called 'republic' to send a commission to this country.

"The whites, numbering 5,000, are really the head and body of the government. Something like one thousand natives have accepted *offices* and have taken the oath of allegiance to the "republic." They have *been bought up*.

"The others, 30,000 of them, *will not be bought*.

"Moreover, the native Hawaiians *are not*—in the main at least—the ignorant savages they have been pictured. Many of them are *well educated*, and thousands are grounded in the common branches, and can read and write English as well as their native tongue. They have their schools, and their own newspapers, as well as their lawyers, doctors and preachers. But with all this they are *without suffrage*. There are also 24,000 Japanese and 21,000 Chinese—*all excluded from the right to vote*—ruled over by this handful of "whites."

The idea that a *few* men composing a "sugar trust" should use the flag and forces of the United States to overthrow a constitutional ruler, set up an oligarchy, disfranchise the people and then claim to be a *republic* and assume to cede or annex the fruits of *such* political spoliation, is absurd!

Let us glance for a moment at what the Hawaiian oligarchy calls its "constitution." It was the work of but 37 persons called delegates, 19 or a *majority* of whom were *appointed* by the "Provisional Government," while the minority (18) was professedly *elected*, but because of the rigid *test* oath that was applied, they also were practically named by the "government." (House Ex. Doc. 1, Part 1, pp. 1311, 1312, 1313, 53d, 3d.) The Hawaiians protested against such a convention, refused to register or vote and gave their reasons. (See same Doc., p. 1316.) The "convention" met May 30, 1894. It was a cut-and-dried affair; a fine specimen of "fine work," resulting in all the power being retained in the hands of the few.

The so-called constitution in Hawaii arbitrarily declared Dole President until December 31, 1900, and until his successor is elected—*by the Legislature!* That makes it interesting to know that the Legislature consists of a Senate, a House and a "Council of State," each legislative branch having 15 members, the President and Senate and House each choosing 5 members to compose the "Council of State"! Then too the

four members of the cabinet are ex-officio members of *both* Senate and House!

A joint session *to elect a President* consists of 34 members, with only 30 votes, however, as the cabinet cannot *vote* for President. A majority of all *the Senators* or nobles shall be requisite to elect a President. So that if a candidate has *all* the votes in the House and 7 Senators (22) he would still *fail* of an election, but if he attained 8 Senators he need have only 8 Representatives! So too 8 Senators can *remain away* and leave Mr. Dole in office *for a lifetime!* That's what Secretary Sherman calls a 'republic' approaching us on equal terms! And under this scheme a *minority* can control, in another way. It is provided that a majority of those (15) elected shall be a quorum, but to pass a bill a majority of *the (cabinet included)* 19 is required! So that the cabinet may control, by *not voting!* No person can vote for a Senator who does not possess *real* estate valued at \$1,500 or personal property valued at \$3,000 or an income of \$600. *That bars out about all the people!* It would have shut General Grant out when he first went to the front! That is a beautiful specimen of a *Republic* approaching us on equal terms.

Then we have this benevolent clause in the oligarchic "constitution." The legislature is to restrain and prevent, by law—"the publication or public utterance of *indecent* or *seditious* "language"! (See House Ex. Doc. 1, Part 1, 53d, 3d, p. 1351.)

That is a scheme to prevent *all criticism* or attack on those who have seized the power and installed themselves in office! (Same Doc., p. 422.) It is the counterpart of a law enacted under the elder Adams when President of the United States, which overthrew him and the federalists and which neither *the Republican nor any other party* in this country *can afford—* by "*annexation*" or in any other way, to *endorse!* On the other hand the constitution of 1887 under which the queen ruled, provided that—

"All men may *freely speak, write and publish* their sentiments "on *all* subjects, being responsible for the *abuse* of that right, "and no law shall be enacted *to restrain the liberty of speech or "of the press.*" (See same Doc., p. 247.)

The so-called annexationists in Hawaii have thus trampled a free press under foot in an avaricious foray. And whoever saw or heard of truly *religious* people engaging from political motives in the bitter denunciation of a lawful *female* sovereign! Her husband, Mr. Dominis, was born in Schenectady, N. Y., and his mother was born in Boston. (See same Doc. pp. 349, 735, 743, 769.)

Then we have that beautiful scheme known as "denizen" citizenship in this "republic"! It came in with the famous

constitution of 1887 which the planters *forced* on King Kalakaua (pp. 575-6) and it had the obvious purpose explained as follows (same Doc., p. 594)—

"Prior to 1887 two-thirds of the foreigners in Hawaii did not become naturalized. The Americans, British and Germans especially would not give up the protection of their strong governments and rely upon that of the Hawaiian Islands. To *such* persons the constitution of 1887 declared: 'We need your vote to overcome that of the native Hawaiians; take the oath to support the Hawaiian government with a distinct reservation of allegiance to your own.' Two-thirds of the Europeans and Americans (denizens) *now voting* were *thus* induced to vote in a strange land, with a pledge that such an act did not affect their citizenship to their native country"! (See form of oath, etc., pp. 1312, 1313, and Article 74, p. 1362.)

Foreigners seizing a government by forcing a constitution on a people under which they are to vote and control without losing *the protection of their own government!* A more cowardly, outrageous scheme than this was never devised *to rob a peaceful people!*

This is an outline of what the Hawaiian "Sugar Trust" wants the American people to believe is a "republic"! Now look for one moment at the relative proportions of those who reside on the Islands.

CENSUS OF THE HAWAIIAN ISLANDS. (SEE CONSULAR REPORT
APRIL, 1897.)

Consul-General Mills, of Honolulu, sends under date of February 8, 1897, the official figures showing the result of the census of the Hawaiian Islands.

The Hawaiians head the list with a total of 31,019. The Japanese colonization comes next, with the Chinese a close third.

Nationality.	Males.	Females.	Total.
Hawaiians	16,399	14,620	31,019
Part Hawaiians	4,249	4,236	8,485
Americans.....	1,975	1,111	3,086
British	1,406	844	2,250
Germans	866	566	1,432
French.....	56	45	101
Norwegian	216	162	378
Portuguese	8,202	6,989	15,191
Japanese	19,212	5,195	24,407
Chinese	19,167	2,449	21,616
South Sea Islanders	321	134	455
Other nationalities	448	152	600
Total	72,517	36,503	109,020

It will be seen that only 3,086 of the total are Americans, and that the British and Germans together are more numerous than the Americans. That all three nationalities number but 6,700 or only 6 per cent of the total; that there are only 1,975 *male* Americans in the Islands! It will also be noticed that the Hawaiians number nearly 40 per cent of the total, and yet these people were and are nearly all practically *disfranchised* either by a *test* oath or by a property qualification, or both. The sway of a few sugar planters is absolute. The Hawaiians have been "done out" of their lands, and their government has been stolen, and *we are asked to consummate the job!*

And we were gravely informed last September that "the Hawaiian Senate had ratified the pending 'annexation' treaty." As a leading newspaper well says—

"That was a foregone conclusion. To expect a Hawaiian Senator or noble to vote against it would be as absurd as to expect a burglar to vote against annexing the silver spoons—that a careless housekeeper had left within his reach.

"It is a perversion of English to use the serious terms of 'diplomacy in treating of this burlesque. There is no Hawaiian Senate; there is no Hawaiian 'Republic.' The treaty 'is not a real treaty; it is a huge fraud and a barefaced 'swindle. The ratification is a farce.'"

The whole number of *registered* voters in the Islands of American and European origin in 1893 was only 3,715—of which 2,083 were unnaturalized Portuguese, principally "contract" labor! This left only 1,624 American and European voters! About as many as would vote *at an ordinary town meeting for a supervisor!* (See Ex. Doc. 1, Part 1, pp. 598-599; 53d, 3d.)

The Hawaiian voters alone, in 1890, numbered 9,700, and all other 3,893—about 2,000 of whom were ignorant Portuguese, given the ballot solely to overcome the Hawaiians. (See same Doc., pp. 599, 598, 594, 595.)

It becomes apparent at once *why* there is an oligarchy, a provision for a sedition law and *test* oaths, and why the legislative power is tied up with *property qualifications* for voters! The natives *are almost all barred out* in the vote for nobles or Senators, and as the two legislative branches have been made equal, the oligarchy need choose only one representative—or none even, because the cabinet is a part of the legislature and the oligarchy controls *that!*

And yet 27,900 natives are able to read and write! (See same Doc., p. 600.)

In the evidence taken in Hawaii by a special agent of our Government we find this—

Question—What is *the reason* the whites say they do not want the natives (Hawaiians) to have suffrage?

Answer—They have an idea that *the natives would have control* of the legislature! That is the whole idea. They wanted to have the whole thing in the hands of *the sugar planters!*
* * * On the Islands of Hawaii, Maui and Kauai the nobles (in the legislature) are controlled *by the sugar planters*. Oahu is the only Island they cannot control.

Ques.—All the Islands except Oahu elected candidates of sugar planters—*nobles?*

Ans.—Yes. (See House Ex. Doc. 1, Part 1, p. 1015—53d, Cong., 3d Sess.)

Ques.—How do *the Hawaiians compare in fitness* for the use of the elective franchise with the *laboring class of the United States?*

Ans.—They compare *very well indeed!* (See same Doc., p. 741.)

Ques.—Can the Hawaiians generally read and write?

Ans.—Yes. It is very seldom you find a native who cannot read and write very well. (See same Doc., p. 740.)

These are the facts. It shows that Hawaii is ruled by a “Sugar Trust” of plutocrats. How can honest and fair Americans endorse this “annexation” scheme? Why, even an Indian, if taxed in Maine, is entitled to vote. Native civilized persons of Indian descent, not of any tribe, are entitled to vote in Michigan.

In Minnesota Indians and persons of mixed, white and Indian blood who have adopted the customs and habits of civilization are entitled to vote. In Hawaii—under the oligarchy thousands of Hawaiians who can read and write, and are otherwise intelligent and who are taxed, are disfranchised by *test-oaths* or by a property qualification.

In the case of Wisconsin, her constitution gave the right to vote not only to the usual class of citizens, but also to *white foreigners* who should have declared their intention of being naturalized; to persons of Indian descent and to civilized persons of Indian descent not members of a tribe.

And we gave the suffrage to probably a million of slaves old enough to vote, but not one in 100 of whom was the equal of the Hawaiian.

The San Francisco organ of the Hawaiian “Sugar Trust” in New York attempts to show that the United States have never made the *consent of the people*—in territory acquired by the United States, a condition, and cites Louisiana, Florida, Texas,

California, Alaska and the Gadsden treaty cessions of the southern parts of New Mexico and Arizona. There are none so blind as those who will not see. Louisiana, Florida and Alaska came to us by *treaty* from nations possessed of *despotic* power, in which the people are not supposed to have any voice, and hence neither Napoleon, Spain nor the Czar felt it necessary to submit those treaties to their people. *They* were supreme, not the people! Again, the three *treaties* by which the United States obtained the territory of Louisiana, Florida and Alaska were grounded on the extreme military necessity which existed for their acquisition.

Two were *coterminous*, and Alaska practically so, and important in the same respect in lesser degree. In case of Louisiana all treaties even with Indian tribes were to be observed, and above all it was expressly stipulated that she was to be admitted into the Union as a *State* as soon as possible, and in 1811 Congress left to *the people* the question of framing a State constitution or not, and if they favored the same, they were to declare or not in favor of our Constitution and to thereupon adopt a State constitution, which was done with the approval of *the people* and Louisiana was admitted April 30, 1812.

Was not all this evidence of the approval of *the people*? What trashy journalism is it, then, to liken Louisiana to the case of Hawaii, where the "constitution" is the work of a few men, a self-constituted sugar plutocracy; never left to nor ratified by the people; who, in fact, are disfranchised by that very instrument itself through the coercive subterfuge of a *test oath*, which virtually says, "ratify what we have done, or "you can't vote."

The case of Florida was as follows: We had a dispute with Spain over "West Florida," in which Baton Rouge and Panmure, near Natchez and Mobile, were situated. The depredations upon American citizens and upon our commerce became so serious that *the people* of West Florida on the 26th of September, 1810, met in convention at Baton Rouge and declared the independence of West Florida as a *free and independent State*, absolved all allegiance to Spain and sought our protection, and we finally *by treaty*, consummated February 22, 1821, purchased the whole territory—East and West Florida. In 1839 *the people* met in convention and adopted a constitution and asked for admission. Here again there is no sort of parallel with Hawaii.

The case of Alaska hardly requires any attention. There were no people in Alaska *who knew what a vote meant*, nor intelligent enough to know whether they were attached to

Russia or to the United States. California drifted to the United States pending the war with Mexico, and was practically a *conquest*, and hence not in point. But every movement thereafter had the assent of *the people*, even the Mexicans being allowed the franchise.

In regard to the south part of Arizona, we simply extended its original boundary south by *treaty* of December, 1853, Mexico having the power over the tract taken to cede it with or without the consent of her people, and the same was the case with the south part of New Mexico.

The fact remains that we have never attempted to accept Hawaii without the assent of her people. She is an independent government—insists on calling herself a “republic,” in which the voice of her people should be heard and heeded. All attempts to liken her case to acquisitions of territory by the United States from *monarchies* or from despots have no application whatever to Hawaii, *whose people*—to the extent of 21,000 or more, *protest*.

Then we have that distinguished peripatetic “diplomat,” Mr. Foster, interesting himself in this Hawaiian question in favor of annexation. He seems to have been quite as open to “diplomatic” engagements recently—at fat salaries, as a strolling minstrel.

As Mr. Johnson, of North Dakota, has well said—

“He is the same man who is now the so-called *expert* seal ‘commissioner representing us—having a roving commission—with authority to incur unlimited expenses, going ‘last summer to Japan and Russia, after being refused a ‘hearing, first by Pauncefoot in Washington, and later by ‘Salisbury in London. This man, who is making a nice fat ‘living out of ‘experting’ for us, may have drawn this bill ‘in the State Department or the Treasury Department. He ‘is an expert at surrendering; that is what he is. He got ‘\$15,000 for going to Paris on a junketing expedition to ‘surrender our rights. And he did it. He made such a ‘great reputation at surrendering that when at the close of ‘the war between China and Japan it became necessary for ‘the Chinese to surrender, they sent for this past master of ‘the art of surrendering and paid him \$100,000, I am told, ‘for showing Li Hung Chang how great nations surrender ‘gracefully. [Laughter.] And now we have employed this ‘accomplished master of the art of surrendering to show us ‘how to give up our few remaining rights upon the high ‘seas.”

Whether Mr. Foster was or is drawing a salary or a fee from the Hawaiian “Sugar Trust” to favor annexation, while

employed by the United States as a roving "diplomatic" expert, we do not know, but he gave the whole case of the Hawaiian oligarchy away when he conceded in the *Washington Post* of December 16 that if the treaty is rejected—"it will be difficult for the present Hawaiian government to successfully maintain itself as against loyal opposition"! His talk about Japan is pure "rot"; shown to be so. His *theory* that a rejection of annexation would involve the surrender of Pearl River harbor is as silly and weak as his further remark that rejection would necessarily carry with it the right of Hawaii to determine its own political destiny entirely uninfluenced by considerations affecting the United States. Upon that theory we would be bound to annex every island in the West Indies, or failing, to allow other nations to absorb them, which is too ridiculous even for Foster.

NASHVILLE, Dec. 15.—The American Federation of Labor spent the day in consideration of reports of committees. The Hawaiian annexation question came up on a report from the committee on resolutions and produced some discussion and the committee reported on a resolution opposing the annexation of Hawaii, offered by T. J. Elderkin and presented the following substitute:

"Whereas, There is at present pending in the United States Senate a treaty providing for the annexation of the Hawaiian Islands; and

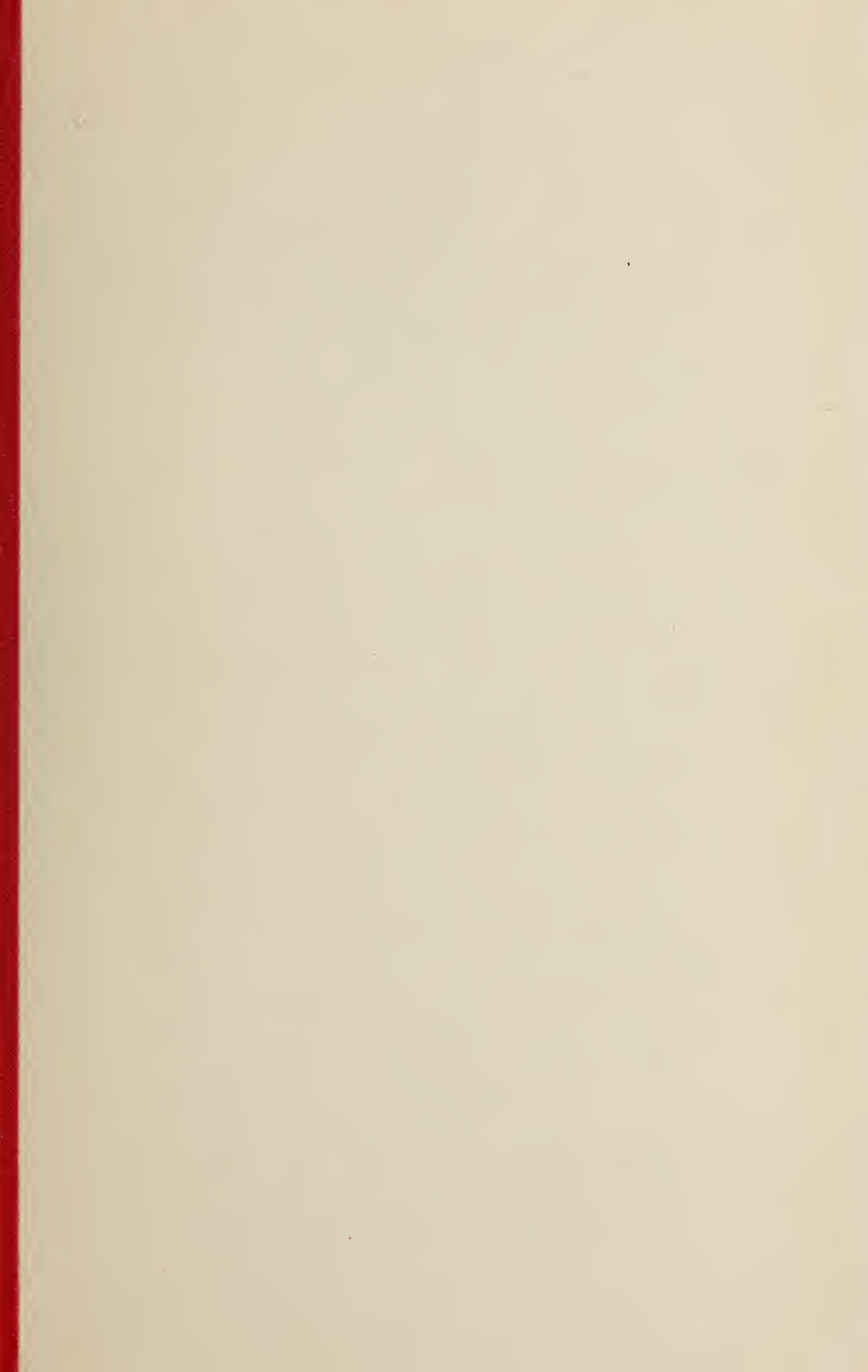
"Whereas, That annexation would be tantamount to the admission of a slave State, the representatives of which would necessarily work and vote for the enslavement of labor in general; therefore be it

"Resolved, By the American Federation of Labor that we disapprove of annexation, and

"Resolved, That we urge the United States Senate to reject the treaty of annexation and to take such other steps as may be necessary to maintain amicable relations with Hawaii."

Andrew Furuseth made a warm speech opposing the annexation and George E. McNeill suggested that the substitute be amended so as to provide for the incoming executive council laying the matter before Congress, and if necessary, before the President, showing the opposition of the Federation to annexation. The substitute as amended was adopted.





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